

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ROME 11100 011412Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01 /053 W

----- 038052

O R 011404Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2396

INFO DIA

USMISSION NATO

AMCONGEN MILAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 11100

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, IT

SUBJECT: NEW CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY SECRETARY SEEKING
TO REGROUP PARTY AS COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN
LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS MULTIPLIES

REF: ROME 10599; 10796

SUMMARY: RECENT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DC) NATIONAL
COUNCIL MEETING WAS ONE OF MOST DIVISIVE IN PARTY HISTORY.
TRADITIONAL ALLIANCES AMONG AND WITHIN PARTY FACTIONS WERE
STRAINED OR BROKEN. THE NEW PARTY SECRETARY IS ATTEMPTING
TO RESTORE A DEGREE OF PARTY UNITY AND IS AIDED BY HIS
PERSONAL REPUTATION FOR HONESTY AND HIGH PRINCIPLES.
HOWEVER, WHILE DC SEEKS TO REGROUP ITS FORCES AND ESTABLISH
COHERENT POLICY AS WELL AS NEW IMAGE, SITUATION AT
LOCAL LEVEL CONTINUES TO DETERIORATE AS COMMUNIST PARTICI-
PATION IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS INCREASES. END SUMMARY.

1. JULY 19-26 DC NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING, OSTENSIBLY
CONVOKED TO DISCUSS "RENOVATION" OF DC PERSONNEL AND
POLICIES, WAS CONSUMED ENTIRELY IN INTERNECINE STRUGGLES
AMONG PARTY FACTIONS. NO NEW POLICIES WERE DECIDED,
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ROME 11100 011412Z

ALTHOUGH SPEECH OF MORO TO COUNCIL CONTAINED ELEMENTS

OF A MORE FLEXIBLE STANCE TOWARD THE PCI AT THE LOCAL LEVEL (ROME 10599). COUNCIL, WHICH BEGAN WITH OUSTER OF FANFANI AS PARTY SECRETARY, ENDED WITH SUCCESSFUL FANFANI VETO AGAINST THE RIVAL (PICCOLI) MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS DEFENESTRATION AND ELECTION OF NEW SECRETARY (ZACCAGNINI) FROM MORO FACTION, WHICH HAD REMAINED LOYAL TO FANFANI.

2. TRADITIONAL LINE-UPS AMONG AND WITHIN MAJOR PARTY FACTIONS WERE SHAKEN BY COUNCIL RESULTS. FRICTION DEVELOPED BETWEEN THE LEFT-WING BASE AND FORZE NUOVE GROUPS OVER SUPPORT OF THE PICCOLI CANDIDACY. TREASURY MINISTER COLOMBO FELL OUT WITH HIS FACTION'S CO-LEADER, BUDGET MINISTER ANDREOTTI, OVER THE LATTER'S ALL-OUT ATTACK ON FANFANI, WHILE THE DEFEAT OF THE POWERFUL DOROTEO(PICCOLI-RUMOR) FACTION HAS PRODUCED AN OPEN SPLIT BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTER RUMOR AND THE OTHER FACTION LEADERS (PICCOLI AND BISAGLIA).

3. ZACCAGNINI'S ELECTION AS THE NEW PARTY SECRETARY REPRESENTS THE "COLLEGIAL ALTERNATIVE" TO THE PICCOLI CANDIDACY. ZACCAGNINI IS NOW TRYING TO PATCH TOGETHER A COLLEGIAL EXECUTIVE BODY COMPRISING REPRESENTATIVES BELOW THE LEVEL OF FACTION LEADER WITH WHOM HE CAN EFFECTIVELY WORK IN RUNNING THE PARTY AND PREPARING FOR A CONGRESS IN THE FALL OR EARLY 1976. ZACCAGNINI SEES HIMSELF AS AN INTERIM LEADER, WHO CAN USE HIS PERSONAL PRESTIGE (AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, THAT OF MORO) TO HEAL WOUNDS WITHIN THE DC AND MOBILIZE FORCES FAVORING PARTY RENEWAL.

4. ZACCAGNINI IS A RESPECTED PARTY LEADER NOTED FOR HIS PERSONAL HONESTY AND AN UNCOMMON LACK OF INTEREST IN AMASSING PERSONAL POLITICAL POWER. HIS STRONG ANTI-FASCIST CREDENTIALS RESISTANCE RECORD AND STATEMENTS IN FAVOR OF AN ANTI-FASCIST FRONT) MAKE HIM PERSONALLY ATTRACTIVE TO THE LEFT. WHAT STANDS OUT ABOUT THE MAN ARE THOSE QUALITIES OF PERSONAL RECTITUDE WHICH SEEM TO BE EXACTLY WHAT THE DC NEEDS AT THE MOMENT IF IT IS TO REGAIN A DEGREE OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE AND INSTILL HOPES FOR THE RENEWAL OF THE PARTY AMONG ITS SUPPORTERS. ZACCAGNINI'S ONLY EVIDENT WEAKNESS

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ROME 11100 011412Z

IS HIS LONG-STANDING TENDENCY TO REMAIN ABOVE THE FRAY. THIS HAS LED SOME OBSERVERS TO QUESTION WHETHER HE WILL BE VIGOROUS AND ASSERTIVE ENOUGH IN EXERCISING HIS MANDATE. IN ADDITION, THE FACT THAT HIS FACTION IS THE SMALLEST (9 PERCENT) IN THE DC PARTY MAKES HIM DEPENDENT ON THE STRONGER PARTY GROUPINGS FOR SUPPORT AT A TIME WHEN THESE FACTIONS ARE EVEN LESS INCLINED THAN USUAL TO WORK TOGETHER.

5. ZACCAGNINI'S PROBLEM IS COMPLICATED BY THE FACT THAT TIME IS WORKING AGAINST THE DC AT THE LOCAL LEVEL. WHILE MANY LOCAL ADMINSTRATIONS STILL REMAIN TO BE FORMED IN THE WAKE OF THE JUNE 15 REGIONAL ELECTIONS, IN A NUMBER OF AREAS THE COMMUNIST PARTY(PCI) HAS NOTABLY INCREASED ITS INFLUENCE AT DC EXPENSE. IN THOSE AREAS (E.G., LIGURIA REGION) WHERE A CHOICE EXISTED BETWEEN A FRONTIST ADMINISTRATION WITH THE PCI AND A CENTER-LEFT MAJORITY, THE SOCIALISTS HAVE SYSTEMATICALLY PREFERRED THE LEFTIST SOLUTION. IN AREAS WHERE A CENTER-LEFT STILL IS POSSIBLE(E.G., LOMBARDY REGION), THE PSI AND COMMUNISTS HAVE PRESSED FOR A NEW, "OPEN" RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CENTER-LEFT MAJORITY AND THE PCI WHICH GIVES THE LATTER A FROMALLY RECOGNIZED ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LEGISLATIVE PROGRAMS. THUS, IF THE CENTER-LEFT MAJORITY CONSENSUS SHOULD BREAK DOWN ON ANY PARTICULAR ISSUE, PCI VOTES COULD BECOME "DETERMINING" RATHER THAN "ADDITIONAL" AND THE PARTY WOULD THEREBY ENTER THE GOVERNING MAJORITY. IN OTHER AREAS(E.G., COSENZA PROVINCE AND, MOST RECENTLY, MILAN) LEFTIST ADMINISTRATIONS HAVE BEEN FORMED WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS OR REPUBLICANS, DESPITE STATEMENTS FROM PSDI AND PRI NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS THAT SUCH LOCAL COLLABORATION WITH THE PCI IS NOT ACCEPTABLE. WHILE LOCAL ADMINSTRATIONS BURN, THE DC HAS BEEN FIDDLING AND HAS NOT YET PROVIDED FIRM GUIDANCE TO ITS LOCAL LEADERSHIP ON HOW FAR TO GO IN RESPONDING TO PCI BLANDISHMENTS.

6. AS THE NUMBER OF LEFTIST (PCI-PSI) LOCAL ADMINSTRATIONS MULTIPLY, THE DC AND OTHER MODERATE CENTER-LEFT PARTIES(SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS) ARE OFTEN CONFRONTED WITH A DANGEROUS DILEMMA: MAKE A LOCAL DEAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ROME 11100 011412Z

WITH THE PCI OR GO INTO OPPOSITION. THE "DEAL" CAN TAKE THE FORM OF OUTRIGHT PARTICIPATION IN A LEFTIST ADMINISTRATION (AS IN COSENZA PROVINCE AND MILAN, FOR EXAMPLE). OR, AS IN THE CASE OF THE LOMBARDY REGIONAL COUNCIL, THE CENTER-LEFT PARTIES CAN AGREE TO FORRMALLY GRANT THE PCI A ROLE IN THE FORMULATION OF LEGISLATIVE PROGRAMS AND THUS OBTAIN THEIR BENEVOLENT ABSTENTION OR AD HOC SUPPORT IN THE LOCAL COUNCIL. THERE IS A DANGER THAT IF THE DC, AS THE KEY DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND ITS MODERATE CENTER-LEFT PARTNERS DO NOT TAKE A STRONGER STAND THAN THEY HAVE SO FAR ADOPTED, THE SITUATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL WILL SLIP ENTIRELY OUT OF CONTROL.VOLPE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL PARTIES, PARTY LEADERS, PARTY SCHISMS, VOTE OF CONFIDENCE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 01 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975ROME11100
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750266-0223
From: ROME
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750890/aaaadbldx.tel
Line Count: 166
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 ROME 10599, 75 ROME 10796
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <05 JUN 2003 by ifshinsr>; APPROVED <09 JUN 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NEW CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY SECRETARY SEEKING TO REGROUP PARTY AS COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN
TAGS: PINT, IT, DC, (FANFANI, AMINOTORE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006